

Volume VII

August 25, 1945

Number 3

Illinois U Library

OPINION AND COMMENT



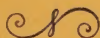
The World Charter

We Need Those Depressions

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"The Peoria Plan Veterans' Service Center"



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BULLETIN

VOLUME 43

ISSUED EVERY FIVE DAYS

NUMBER 3

OPINION AND COMMENT

A quarterly publication of the
Bureau of Economic and Business Research

J. F. BELL, Ph.D., *Acting Director*
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This publication of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research is issued upon the assumption that our readers will appreciate interpretative comments on topics of current interest. Because studied opinions on the significance of current trends are often more thought-provoking than tabulations of data would be, the Bureau supplements its research by issuing *Opinion and Comment* as another type of service.

The opinions expressed in the articles are the personal views of the respective authors and not necessarily those of the College of Commerce or the University.

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The articles published in *Opinion and Comment* are indexed
in Public Affairs Information Service, New York.

Published every five days by the University of Illinois. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Urbana, Illinois, under the Act of August 24, 1912. Office of Publication, 358 Administration Building, Urbana, Illinois. Acceptance for mailing at the special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized July 31, 1918.

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The World Charter*

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THE San Francisco Conference has completed its work and has submitted the results of its labors to the fifty-one members of the United Nations for ratification. When the document drafted by the Conference—The Charter of the United Nations—has been ratified by the five Great Powers—The United States, The United Kingdom, Russia, France, and China—and by a majority of the other forty-six nations, it will go into effect. On July 28, 1945, the Charter was ratified by the United States Senate. What sort of organization does the Charter establish? What are its merits?

I

The Charter provides for a single, integrated organization of peace-loving nations. The Organization is

* At the time of the preparation of this article neither the minutes of the committees of the San Francisco Conference, nor the hearings on the Charter before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, had been published. Hence the interpretations of the Charter set forth were made without the benefit of a study of these materials. It is to be expected that they will throw much light upon the construction to be given the Charter.

The references listed at the end of the article are to the Charter of the United Nations, cited "Charter," the Statute of the International Court of Justice, cited "Statute," and the Covenant of the League of Nations, cited "Covenant."

composed of five principal organs, the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat, and a number of subsidiary agencies.

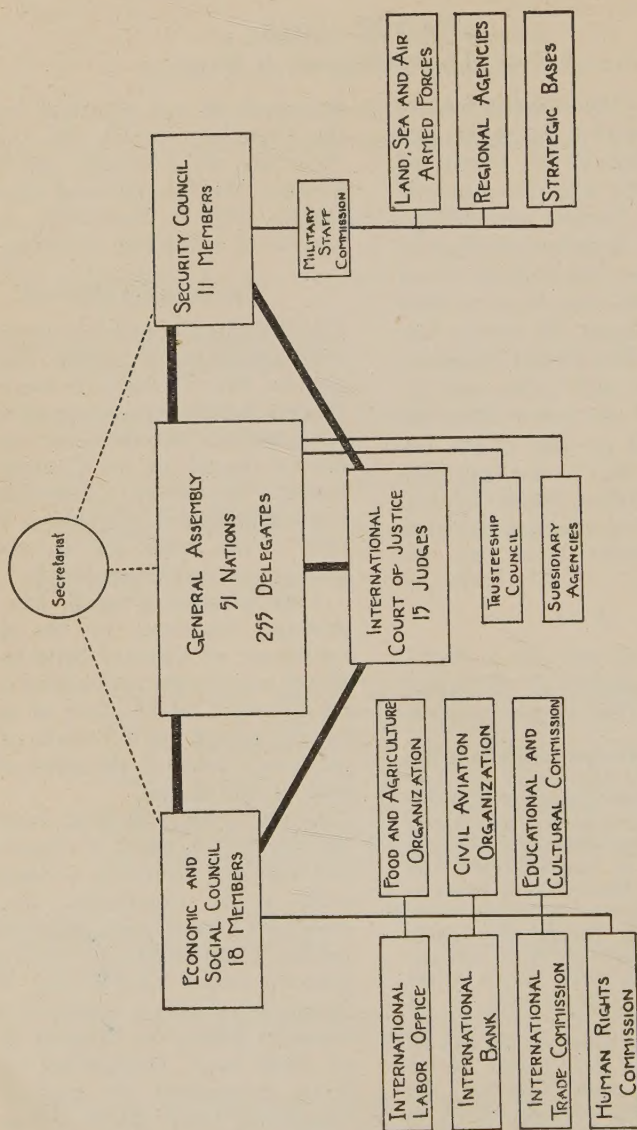
The Security Council

The Security Council is composed of representatives of eleven member nations, five of which are the Great Powers, which are permanent members, and six of which are nations elected thereto by the General Assembly. The latter, called nonpermanent members, are elected for a term of two years, and are not eligible to succeed themselves.¹

The Security Council has two principal functions: (a) the pacific settlement of disputes between nations,² and (b) the application of coercive action in the event of an act of aggression, or a breach of the peace or a threat to the peace on the part of any nation.³

In performing its first function, the Security Council is required to call upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial determination, or other peaceful means. That failing, if the dispute is of such a character as to endanger peace, the Security Council itself may "recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment"⁴ or "such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate."⁵ A dispute of a legal

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION



The **Security Council** settles international disputes and applies economic and military sanctions to stop aggression. The **General Assembly** deals with social and economic problems, allocates expenses, approves budgets, and elects representatives to various other agencies. The **Economic and Social Council** makes recommendations for improvement of economic and social conditions and coordinates agencies working in these fields. The **International Court of Justice** decides disputes involving international law. The **Secretariat** is the administrative agency of the Organization.

nature would ordinarily be referred by the Security Council to the International Court of Justice for decision.⁹

Not only do all members of the Organization covenant "to refrain . . . from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence" of other members and to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means,"⁸ but they also agree "to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council"⁹ and "to comply with the decisions of the International Court"¹⁰ on questions coming before these agencies for decision.

Compliance with a decision of the Security Council or of the International Court thus becomes not simply a moral obligation, but a legal duty. A nation refusing to carry out such a decision becomes an outlaw—a violator of international law.

In performing its second important function, the Security Council is empowered to request member nations to sever economic, diplomatic, and communications relations with a nation found to be guilty of aggression, of a breach of the peace, or of a threat to peace,¹¹ or, in the event of the inadequacy of these measures, to "take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."¹² To enable the Security Council to put this sanction into operation, the member nations agree to make available to it predetermined contingents of armed forces and facilities.¹³ The numbers and types of these forces, their degree of readiness and loca-

tion, are to be determined by separate agreements made between member nations and the Security Council. When such forces are called up by the Council, they will be under the immediate direction and command of a Military Staff Committee, which consists of the Chiefs of Staff of the Great Powers.¹⁴ In the performance of its duties, the Military Staff Committee acts under the authority of the Security Council and is responsible to it, and not to the member nations.¹⁵

In performing either the first or the second function, the Security Council may avail itself of the facilities of regional agencies like the Pan American Union.¹⁶ If, however, the Security Council for any reason fails to act, a regional agency, without previous authority of the Security Council, may act in self-defense against an armed attack, but such action does not deprive the Security Council of its authority to intervene at any time.¹⁷ Thus the regional agency is always subject to the higher power of the Security Council.

Voting Procedure of Security Council

Any procedural matter before the Security Council may be passed by the affirmative vote of any seven of its eleven members. A decision on other matters (i.e., matters of substance), requires that the seven affirmative votes include the five permanent members of the Council, except that on a question having to do with the pacific settlement of disputes (the first important function of the Security Council discussed

above), a party to a dispute is not qualified to vote.¹⁸

It may sometimes be difficult to determine when a question involves procedure, requiring only the concurrence of any seven members of the Council for approval, and when it involves substance, requiring that the seven include the five permanent members. This question was debated at the San Francisco Conference, and it was there decided that the privilege of any nation to present and discuss a case fully before the Council is to be regarded as a procedural matter merely, and therefore may be granted by the affirmative vote of any seven members of the Council. If, however, the question is presented as to whether the case should be "investigated" or what the final disposition or settlement of the case should be, matters of substance would be involved and the seven votes required for a decision must include the five permanent members of the Council, excluding any member who may be a party to the dispute.

The Big Five Veto

There has been a great deal of discussion and some misunderstanding concerning the power of any one of the Big Five Nations to "veto" action by the Security Council. The use of the term "veto power" in this connection is somewhat misleading. It would be more appropriate to call this requirement the "unanimity rule," because the purpose of the requirement is not to give any Big Five Nation a "veto" on action desired by other nations, but to assure unanimity among the Big Five, be-

fore action is taken on a matter as important as the enforcement of peace. The stress should be placed on the desirability of unity among the Great Powers, rather than upon the power of one nation to veto action desired by other nations.

To understand this problem, a distinction should be made between a dispute not involving a member of the Security Council as a party, and one involving a member of the Council as a party. If a dispute arises between two nations neither of which is represented on the Security Council, either may not only bring the case to the attention of the Council, but discuss it fully before the Council, with no member having the power to veto the procedure. If, however, the question is raised as to whether the case should be investigated, or after investigation, whether recommendations should be made for adjustment or settlement of the controversy, then an affirmative vote of seven, including the Big Five, is required. Any one of the Big Five or any five of the Little Six could veto a determination of the case. Or if, after recommending a method of adjustment or the terms of settlement, there is a refusal of a nation to comply with the settlement, and the question is raised as to the use of economic sanctions or military force, any one of the Big Five or any five of the Little Six may veto action. It seems unreasonable to assume, however, that if the merits of a case, or a preponderant public opinion, weighed strongly on the side of action a single nation would be inclined to exercise its veto power.

If, however, a dispute arises to which a Big Five member of the Security Council is a party, such member is disqualified to vote on the question as to whether the case may be presented or discussed, whether the dispute is of such a nature as to threaten peace, whether recommendations for adjustment should be made, whether the case should be referred to the International Court, or what the "terms of settlement" should be. At no point in this procedure, from the original presentation of the case to the final decision, does the Big Five Nation party to the dispute have the privilege of voting, much less the power to veto the Council's decision. The same rule applies to a little nation. Each party to the dispute, though not permitted to vote on any matter leading up to the decision, or on the final decision itself, is by the terms of the Charter under a legal duty to "accept and carry out" the decision of the Security Council,¹⁹ or, if the matter is referred to the International Court, to comply with a judgment of the Court.²⁰

Since determination of appropriate "terms of settlement" of a dispute can hardly be made by the Council without indicating which nation is in the wrong, it seems a reasonable inference that the Security Council can, over the protest of even a Big Five Nation, party to a dispute, brand such nation an international outlaw.

It is only when there is a failure to comply with a decision of the Security Council or the Court, or when there is an act of aggression, or a threat to or breach of the peace,

that a party to the dispute, if a Big Five Nation, may veto Council action.

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is composed of representatives of all members of the organization. Each nation, large and small, has one vote in this body, but may have as many as five representatives.²¹ The General Assembly may discuss and consider questions relating to international peace and security, including principles governing disarmament, and make recommendations on such matters to member nations or the Security Council. As to a particular dispute, unless the Security Council has taken it under consideration and is dealing with it, the General Assembly may not only discuss it, but make recommendations for its settlement.²²

The principal function of the General Assembly, however, is not to deal with disputes, but to "initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting" international cooperation in the political, economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and to assist "in the realization of human rights and basic freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."²³ The General Assembly thus is the forum where any question of international import may be discussed. It is the popular body, the world "town meeting," where grievances of many sorts may be freely aired and bandied about by representatives of small nations as well as large.

The General Assembly is also to receive and consider reports from

the Security Council and all other bodies of the Organization,²⁴ to apportion the expenses among its members, and to consider and approve the budgets of all the various agencies of the Organization.²⁵ It thus has the power which comes from controlling the purse strings of the Organization.

A very important authority granted to the General Assembly is its power to elect the six nonpermanent members of the Security Council,²⁶ all eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council,²⁷ substantially one-half the members of the Trusteeship Council,²⁸ and (jointly with the Security Council) from a list of nominations supplied by various national groups, all fifteen members of the International Court of Justice.²⁹

The General Assembly is to meet annually. Its decisions on important matters may be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. Other matters require only a simple majority for approval.³⁰

The Economic and Social Council

The principal subagency of the General Assembly is the Economic and Social Council. It consists of representatives of eighteen nations elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms.³¹ It can make decisions by a simple majority vote.³² The Economic and Social Council is to remain in permanent session and is to act, under the authority of the General Assembly, in economic, social, cultural, educational, and health matters of international character, and in the fields of human rights

and freedoms. To facilitate the performance of its duties, the Economic and Social Council is authorized to set up commissions in various economic, social, and humanitarian fields.³³ It also has the function of integrating and of coordinating various specialized agencies like the International Labor Office, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, and the International Bank and Monetary Fund (provided for by the Bretton-Woods Conference).³⁴ It is the purpose of the Charter to head up, in the Economic and Social Council, all economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian agencies heretofore established or hereafter to be established, and to make this Council directly responsible for its activities in all these fields to the General Assembly.

An important difference between the Security Council, on the one hand, and the General Assembly and its subagency, the Economic and Social Council, on the other, is that the former has power to make decisions that are final and binding upon all member nations of the Organization,³⁵ whereas the latter agencies have authority only to recommend measures to member nations.³⁶ Their proposals do not become binding until ratified by the members of the Organization.

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is established for the purpose of settling legal (justiciable) controversies, such as disputes involving international law, the interpretation of a treaty, the "existence of a fact

which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation," and the "nature and extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation."³⁷ The Court is to be composed of fifteen judges, five to be elected every three years for nine-year terms, no two of whom shall be nationals of the same country.³⁸ The election is to be by an absolute majority of the General Assembly and the Security Council (without a distinction being made between permanent and nonpermanent members) from a list of persons nominated by various national groups, after such groups have advised with the nation's highest judges, law faculties, and national academies devoted to the study of law.³⁹

The judges of the Court will in no sense represent the countries of which they are nationals. They must possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest court, or be jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.⁴⁰ The character and qualifications of the judges who sat on the World Court established under the League of Nations were such that the Court's judgments were highly regarded and respected. The exacting qualifications required and the method of selecting the judges of the new World Court give assurance that they will possess in high degree the qualities of international-mindedness and freedom from bias, and that they will most likely live up to the same high standard set by the judges of the old Court.

The Court has jurisdiction over

all legal disputes arising between nations that have especially agreed by treaty or by unilateral declaration to give the Court such jurisdiction,⁴¹ and over all disputes specifically referred to it by the Security Council.⁴² Otherwise, specific disputes may be referred to the Court by agreement of the parties. In addition, it is the Court's responsibility, upon the request of any organ or agency of the Organization, to render advisory opinions on cases submitted to it.⁴³ All decisions are rendered by a simple majority vote of the judges present.⁴⁴ If there is no judge on the Court who is a national of any party to a dispute, a special judge of that nationality will be appointed for the purposes of that case.⁴⁵ By joining the Organization, each nation becomes bound to comply with the Court's judgment in any dispute to which it is a party, if the Court has jurisdiction, and if it fails to comply, the Security Council is authorized to take such steps as may be necessary to compel compliance.⁴⁶

Since the Court will, so far as possible, base its decisions upon principles of law and justice rather than upon mere expediency, it will be desirable that as many disputes as possible be assigned to the Court for decision. In this manner, the Court will be enabled to develop gradually a genuine system of international jurisprudence.

The Court may organize itself into chambers, or divisions of three or more judges each, the several divisions to specialize in particular types of cases, for example, one in labor cases, another in transit and

communications cases, etc.⁴⁷ The decision of any division will be regarded as the judgment of the Court.

The Secretariat

The Secretariat is the administrative agency of the entire Organization. It is headed by a Secretary-General who is elected by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council.⁴⁸ The Secretary-General, under regulations to be set up by the General Assembly, selects his own staff.⁴⁹ In order that members of the Secretariat shall be as unbiased and international-minded as possible, the Charter expressly provides that in the performance of their duties they "shall be responsible only to the Organization" and shall not "seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization."⁵⁰

It is the responsibility of the Secretariat to arrange for meetings of the various international agencies, keep the records, make reports, supply officers with information, and in general keep the entire machine running from day to day. An important power vested in the Secretary-General is to "bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which, in his opinion, might threaten international peace and security."⁵¹

The Trusteeship System

An international trusteeship system is created for colonial and dependent territories (called trust territories), and a Trusteeship Council acting under the authority of, and responsible to, the General Assembly

is set up for supervising the administration of such territories.⁵² The objectives of the trusteeship system include the promotion of "the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the trust territories, and their progressive development toward self-government or independence" and the encouragement of respect "for human rights and for fundamental freedoms" among their inhabitants.⁵³ Each dependent or colonial territory is left under the general authority of the member nation now controlling it, but if such territory is brought into the trusteeship system, the administering nation becomes a trustee for the benefit of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and will be required to make periodic reports to the Trusteeship Council, on such matters as the "political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants" of the territory.⁵⁴ And, in turn, the Trusteeship Council is required to report to the General Assembly on the condition of the inhabitants of all trust territories.

The Trusteeship Council consists of one representative from each of the nations administering trust territories, plus an equal number of others, elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly (including, however, any Great Power not administering trust territories).⁵⁵ The trusteeship system will apply only to such territory as is placed under the Trusteeship Council by agreement of the member nations controlling dependent or colonial territories.⁵⁶

Excluded from the control of the Trusteeship Council are areas that

may be set aside as strategic bases. Since these areas are to be devoted to the enforcement of peace, they will be placed under the control of the Security Council.⁵⁷

II

So much for the framework of the new Organization and the functions of its principal agencies. What are the objections to it?

Is the Charter a Big Five Alliance?

Some critics say that the Organization is nothing more than a camouflaged alliance of the Big Five—that the Charter is an instrument for giving them the power to dominate the world. This is far from the truth. While it is true that the Big Five have the lion's share of power under the Charter, that power is spearheaded in the direction of peace and not of war. Not only that, but it is spearheaded in the direction of a *just* peace. It is a power which the Charter clothes with responsibility. The Charter contains numerous restrictions upon the use of Big Five power for war, oppression, or exploitation, and sets up pressures that will cause this power to be applied in the interest of the maintenance of a just peace.

Some of the provisions of the Charter which do this are the following:

1. Each of the Big Five Nations, as well as each little nation, pledges and legally commits itself to "refrain . . . from the threat or use of force"⁵⁸ in its international relations, to settle its disputes with other

nations "by peaceful means"⁵⁹ and to fulfill all its obligations in "good faith."⁶⁰ Aggression or a threat thereof, by these provisions, is made illegal. These pledges dedicate the use of the power of the Big Five to peace and against war.

2. Each nation commits itself to "accept and carry out"⁶¹ the decisions of the Security Council made against it and to comply with judgments of the International Court disposing of disputes to which it is a party.⁶²

3. A majority of the members of the Security Council represent small nations. The small states can actually outvote the Big Five. While this vote cannot override a Big Five veto, many questions can be decided by the vote of any seven members. Any five votes will always be sufficient to defeat a proposal. But more important than voting is the influence the representatives of the small nations on the Council will have through discussion and the art of persuasion. Most of these small-nation representatives, as experience shows, are extremely able men. They are bound to make their influence felt.

4. Then there is the dominating position which the little nations will have in the General Assembly—46 to 5—to start with, their preponderance growing with each new nation admitted. Is the General Assembly to be an absolutely impotent body? By no means. While its decisions cannot bind nations, one of its principal functions will be to study, consider, discuss, and recommend measures of various kinds in the social, economic, and humanitarian

fields. It can hardly be doubted that its recommendations will carry great weight both with the Security Council and with the member nations, and that in many instances they will be adopted. Not only that, but after member nations have given their approval to the establishment of various international agencies such as an international bank, a monetary fund, an international civil aviation organization, and a food and agriculture organization, the General Assembly will have a great deal to say as to how these agencies shall function.

5. And what about the power that will gradually accumulate in the Economic and Social Council? And this Council will always be little-nation-dominated. If the Economic and Social Council succeeds at all, it will in the course of time improve some of the economic maladjustments and alleviate some of the bad social conditions here and there in the world, and to the extent that it does this, it will be making the peace more just. With only a Security Council there would be danger that the power created to maintain peace might be diverted into a power to exploit and oppress, but with the Economic and Social Council, continuously in session and constantly working to improve conditions, we have a counterbalancing influence of tremendous force.

6. The International Court of Justice, upon which the small nations will have a majority, is almost certain to exert a great influence upon the course of events in its development of international law; and

that will be in the direction of a peace based upon justice and not of a power-alliance system.

7. Then there is the very powerful weapon of public opinion, which the various agencies of the Organization, especially the General Assembly, can develop and cause to be focused upon any member of the Big Five which may go too far wrong.

Far different, then, is the United Nations from an alliance of the Big Five. An alliance possesses none of these restraints on its use of power, nor does it grant to those outside the alliance the powers which the little nations have in this new Organization. To call the new Charter an alliance of the Big Five is to ignore many of its most important provisions.

What Effect Will the Organization Have Upon Power Politics?

Closely related to the above is the criticism that the members of the Big Five, especially Russia and Great Britain, are addicted to the policy of trying to control the world on the basis of power politics. It is contended that they have set up and will maintain, by one kind of pressure or another, spheres of influence, and will dominate these spheres in behalf of their own selfish interests. The argument is that the power politics of these countries, and not the authority of the United Nations, will be the dominating force in international affairs. Hence, the establishment of this new elaborate Organization is regarded as a more or less futile gesture. Usually,

critics taking this point of view are inclined to overlook charges of the use of power politics by the United States in setting up spheres of influence in South America and elsewhere. While this policy seems objectionable in others, for some reason it is commendable in our own case.

It must, of course, be recognized that Britain has resorted to the use of power politics in Italy, Greece, and other regions along her lifeline to India, and that Russia has used it in even stronger form in Poland and the Balkan States. But if power politics is bad, what are we going to do about it? Throw open the flood gates and let its fetid waters inundate the fertile valleys of the earth? Or set up a system which will impose some restraints upon it? But we have seen that the new Organization imposes many restraints upon the Big Five. All these will tend to curtail the use of power politics. It is too much to expect that under the new Organization, power politics will be eliminated, but it is not unreasonable to expect that it will be reduced to a minimum. After 160 years of operations under our Federal constitution, we still have pressure politics, and the undue influence of special interests in our own country. Yet no one argues that for that reason the Constitution should be abandoned. The world will probably never be entirely free of power politics, but it certainly seems probable that there will be less of it if the proposed World Charter is adopted than if it is not.

Does the Organization Strike at the Causes of War?

The basic causes of war, say many economists and sociologists, are the economic rivalries and social conflicts growing out of the maldistribution of raw materials, poverty, unemployment, unfair competition in world trade, and unfair discrimination in world movements of men, money, and materials. The San Francisco Conference, say some critics, did not solve or even tackle a single one of these problems. It completely ignored the fundamental causes of war. If it is true that these conditions fertilize the seeds of war, it is equally true that they cannot be eliminated at any conference table, no matter how much ability may be gathered around it, nor how long it may remain in session. Such conditions cannot be eliminated short of years, or even centuries, of scientific study and trial-and-error experience. And it is certain that they cannot even then be eliminated, unless some machinery is set up by which these problems can be studied and the results of the study put into operation. In other words, the first step in the process of tackling the basic causes of international friction is to set up the machinery by which plans for their elimination can actually be put into effect. That is the purpose of the proposed Organization. It was not the object of the San Francisco Conference to try to solve the world's social and economic problems, but to provide the machinery for selecting plans and putting them into operation. Economic societies and sociological as-

sociations have been meeting and working out scientific solutions to the world's problems for years, but what has happened? The bad conditions have continued. And at least part of the cause has been the lack of adequate political machinery for sifting out and selecting the most feasible of these plans and putting them into effect.

But, say the critics at this point, if the above argument is sound, why has so much power been given to the Security Council, whose function is not to solve social and economic problems, but to stop aggression? This, it is said, treats aggression as the cause of war, when it is but a symptom. The cause lies much deeper.

But if the agencies set up to work on the social and economic problems are to have time and opportunity to accomplish results, there must be some other agency to keep order while they work. This agency in the new Organization is the Security Council. It is the function of the Security Council to hold back the marching armies of the world while the Economic and Social Council, together with its subagencies, proceeds with the long-time task of solving those problems that create the stresses and strains that result in war. If one nation threatens to invade another, the Security Council cannot then stop to consider, or wait for some other agency to consider, the merits of the invader's complaints or the cause of the aggression. The only consideration that is then important is how to stop the aggression. For, regardless of the merits of the controversy, it is and

should be a violation of international law to settle it by aggression. Under municipal law it is unlawful for a person to invade his neighbor's premises, knock him down, and extract from him the amount of a debt, even though the debt is justly owed. The justice of the claim does not justify nor mitigate illegal (anti-social) means of collecting it. Just so with a nation. An equitable demand against a neighbor cannot justify or legalize the use of force to redress it. The aggression must be stopped first, and the justice of the claim considered later under surroundings more conducive to a fair determination. A contrary policy would never give the world the time or opportunity necessary to the removal of the causes of war. Recurrent war defeats the purpose for which it is waged. Hence there must first of all be a strong force to preserve order and, independently of that, there must be a force to eliminate the cause of disorder. In the new Organization, the first of these functions is performed by the Security Council, and the second by the Economic and Social Council. Those persons who would sterilize the seeds of war will, I think, appreciate the soundness of this feature of the new Organization and be prompt to avail themselves of the weapons supplied by it.

Should the Organization Have Been a Federation?

Many persons believe that the new Organization does not possess enough power, that the member nations have not surrendered enough

of their sovereignty to enable the World Organization to make important decisions and to act effectively, and especially that it does not have sufficient legislative authority. These critics believe that the new Charter should be patterned more closely after the Constitution of the United States—that the Organization should be a federal union, with authority over all matters of international scope definitely allocated to the central world agency and taken away from the national governments. I have a great deal of sympathy with this point of view, at least as a long-range objective; and it is altogether probable that ultimately the Organization will develop into that form of world order. But I do not believe it is possible for the world to be organized on that basis at the present time and all at once. Nationalism is too strong to permit it, and that is a fact which cannot be eliminated by merely deciding to ignore it. It is wiser to approach that form of organization gradually, so as to permit time for the many psychological adjustments and changes in habits, customs, and attitudes that will be necessary before such a world society is possible. Moving toward federalism by trial and error will also have the advantage of making possible a variety of adaptations of that system as we now know it. We do not now know whether the United States federal system would work on a world-wide scale, or whether it would require material modification. By moving into it slowly, we can better fit the plan to the needs of the world than

if we try to attain our goal all at once. It is altogether possible that the United States might have avoided the disastrous Civil War had the country become federalized a little more gradually.

What About Sacrifice of National Sovereignty?

A criticism from the opposite direction is that the new Organization is too powerful. Joining the Organization, it is said, involves a sacrifice of national sovereignty, and it is against the interests of the American people to adopt any policy involving the sacrifice of national sovereignty. A nation has sovereignty when it can, without foreign hindrance, determine its own policies—control its own destiny. This criticism assumes that we, as a sovereign and independent nation, are now free to pursue that course of action which we decide will promote our best interests, and that by joining the new Organization we surrender this power. But does America or any other nation now have the power to determine its own course of action? We surely have not yet forgotten how, before the present war, Hitler called to Berlin, one after another, the foreign ministers of his neighboring countries and told them what their national policies must be. Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the Balkan States were all "sovereign and independent" nations according to international law, and yet they had to yield to the demands of Hitler, a representative of a foreign power. Were these nations actually sovereign? Can it be said that they

actually had the power to determine for themselves their own national policies? These were small nations. What effect did Hitler's procedure have on the sovereignty of more powerful countries? As a result of his policies, both Britain and the United States adopted conscription laws during peacetime for the first time in their history. The United States enacted the Lend-Lease Act, and began to convert from making implements of peace to making munitions of war. In the course of a few months, our entire internal economy was materially modified. All this change in our own internal affairs came about not because we desired to live that kind of a life, not because we thought it would increase the prosperity and happiness of our people, but because of decisions made in Berlin and Tokyo that directly affected our interests. And finally we were forced into the war, with its incalculable cost in men and money.

The course of events during the last ten years shows that no nation can be "sovereign and independent" so long as international gangsters and outlaws are permitted to run at large, and are free to cajole, threaten, and terrorize nations that want to follow the ways of peace. This being the case, what do we sacrifice by joining an organization devised to prevent such practices? It is true that we give up certain rights and privileges and assume certain obligations. But we obtain, in exchange for them, the freedom to follow our own desires in matters that we cherish more highly. We agree to submit disputes to an inter-

national agency and to abide by its decisions in exchange for being free to devote our energies and resources to education, to the improvement of living standards, to increasing employment, and to developing our natural resources and in general the economy of our people and the people of the world. Does not this exchange give us a larger sovereignty than we had before? Even if we lose every case submitted to this international agency, which, of course, is not likely, it seems improbable that the losses would ever equal the cost in lives and dollars expended in the brief space of five years in this war. By joining the World Organization, we are spending a small part of our national sovereignty in return for the assurance of being able to use the rest of it to promote the welfare of our own people and that of the people of the world.

In this respect, the relations between nations are not unlike the relations between individuals. Experience has shown that the only way to assure freedom of action (sovereignty) to an individual in matters that most affect his welfare and happiness is for him to surrender to his city, state, and national government the power to curtail the activities of those who would interfere with such freedom of action. Each individual has more genuine freedom under an organized society, which has the power to curtail certain activities, than under an anarchistic society which lacks such power. The same is true of nations. When a nation joins a world organization to promote peace, it will in

all probability gain more sovereignty than it will lose.

It should perhaps be noted that nations other than the Big Five make the greatest sacrifice of sovereignty under the Charter. Since force can neither be required of, nor applied against, a Big Five Nation, without the approval of its delegate on the Security Council, the enforcement provisions of the Charter do not involve a sacrifice of sovereignty of these nations. Their sovereignty is restricted only by the covenants to submit disputes to and abide by decisions of the Security Council and, in some contingencies, the International Court. Since, however, nations other than the Big Five cannot individually veto the use of force, they sacrifice sovereignty under the enforcement provisions, as well as under the settlement-of-disputes provisions of the Charter.

III

From the remarks made above, in commendation of the San Francisco Charter, it should not be assumed that the document is perfect. On the contrary, it is recognized that meritorious objections can be made to it.

Veto Power Too Extensive

The defect most to be regretted is that the veto power of the Big Five Nations is too extensive. Though, as has been shown, such power cannot be used by a Big Five Nation, party to a dispute, to prevent a decision against it, the power can be used by such a nation to prevent the application of economic or military sanctions against it. This is a

weakness. The great value in sanctions is the deterrent effect resulting from the existence of the power to apply them. Permitting any nation to prevent the application of sanctions against itself removes a deterrent to that nation's committing an international crime.

The worst feature of the existence of a nation's veto power on the use of force against itself is that, after the veto is exercised, it becomes illegal for the Organization or member nations to use force voluntarily against the vetoing nation, except in self-defense. For example, if Great Britain, after vetoing the use of force against herself, should proceed with a threatened aggression against India, neither France, Russia, the United States, nor China could legally go to the aid of the invaded country. The general pledge of these nations to refrain "from the threat or use of force" would not be excused. Otherwise, the reserved power of veto would mean nothing. By express provision of the Charter, however, India—and perhaps other nations in the same region—would have the legal right of self-defense.

The answer frequently made to this objection is that, if the new Organization is to succeed, it is necessary that the Big Five continue to be united; that if they split on the use of force there will be another World War, and an end to the Organization, whatever the voting procedure is. While this is possibly true, the argument goes too far. If the World Organization would break up, whether a Big

Five Nation party to a dispute had a veto or not, then there could be no objection to denying the veto power.

But it is submitted that eliminating the veto power of a Big Five Nation, party to a dispute, would itself be a strong inducement to unity, and hence a safeguard to the Organization itself. If Great Britain, in the case of her aggression against India, as supposed above, can by her single vote make the use of force against herself illegal, she may feel reasonably safe in going ahead with her aggression. She may conclude that the other nations, rather than sacrifice the World Organization by illegally using force against her, will prefer to ignore her illegal action, and try to save the Organization. There would be no threat of force to deter her.

When her case comes before the Security Council, and she vetoes the use of force, the other members of the Council will have a choice between two alternatives. They can (1) use illegal force to stop Britain's illegal act, destroy Big Five unity, and break up the Organization; or (2) ignore Britain's illegal act, preserve Big Five unity, but render the Organization useless as an instrument for the prevention of war. Thus, the veto power of a Big Five Nation, party to a dispute, can force the Security Council into making a choice between two alternatives, either of which would destroy or render inefficacious the World Organization.

Now suppose the veto power of a Big Five Nation, party to a dispute, were eliminated. The first effect would be that Great Britain, in the

case supposed above, knowing that the Council could legally use the combined forces of the Organization against her, would not be so likely to commit the act of aggression, or having begun might be induced to withdraw when, over her protest, the Council voted to use force. Thus the Council's ability to threaten the legal use of the forces of four Great Powers and over forty little ones might be an influence sufficiently strong to bring Great Britain into unity with the other Great Powers, and hence the means of preserving the Organization. And even if Britain persisted in her aggression, the Council would not, as under the present plan, be put into the position of having to choose between alternatives, both of which are undesirable. Use of force against Britain could now be applied legally. Upon call of the Council, not only the other Great Powers, but all the little powers would be bound to use force in an effort to stop the aggression. And in the event that they were successful, the Organization would not only be saved, but vindicated.

When a conference is called to amend the Charter (and one will be called within ten years) the Big Five unanimity rule will probably be among the first brought up for amendment. A compromise amendment, which would go far toward eliminating the above objections, might be as follows:

"If the Security Council fails to reach a decision on any matter presented to it under Chapter VII (the enforcement chapter) solely because of the single nonconcurring vote of

a permanent member who is a party to the dispute, the General Assembly shall have power, by a two-thirds majority, to determine such matter, and its decision shall be created, for all purposes, as the decision of the Security Council."

Such a provision would justify and legalize the use of force, if use of force is first approved by the Security Council by a unanimous vote (excluding the disputant) and then by the General Assembly by a two-thirds vote.

However, despite the objection to the veto power of a party to a dispute, it must not be overlooked that there are other deterrents to a Great Power's committing an act of aggression. Such an act would be a violation of an express commitment under the Charter, and therefore a breach of international law. The risk of being branded an international outlaw by the World Organization would itself be a deterrent of great force.

Now as to a decision in any case not involving a Big Five Nation, as a party, Sumner Welles' suggestion of a rule requiring a favorable vote of only three of the Big Five would have been a more satisfactory arrangement than the requirement of unanimity. This would have reduced materially the power of each of the Big Five. Such a plan would have required the dissenting vote of at least three Great Powers, instead of one, to veto a proposal that otherwise met with the approval of seven members of the Council.

A strong argument in support of the plan in the Charter, when a Big Five Nation is not a party to the

dispute, is that it is an improvement over the League of Nations Covenant, which required complete unanimity of all members of the Council for favorable action on any measure. Under it, any nation, large or small, had an absolute veto on Council action. Furthermore, it is likely that the facilities furnished by the Organization for the discussion of points of friction among the Great Powers will prevent situations from arising which might give occasion for the use of the veto by any one of them.

Other Defects

Other objections to the Charter that may be urged include the following: The trusteeship system does not compulsorily apply to certain specified territories. Minority groups within nations are not given specific protection; they should possibly have been given direct access to the World Court. The Assembly should have been brought closer to the people of the world by providing for, or at least encouraging, popular election of, say two of the five delegates to which each nation is entitled, and by providing that voting in the Assembly should be by delegates rather than by states. This would not only have given the people a more direct influence on international affairs, and have been an entering wedge against a mere "union of states," but a popular election now and then would have made the people "world-government conscious." The jurisdiction of the International Court to decide legal questions should have been made compulsory, as to all members of the

Organization. The amendment procedure is too difficult. It should have been possible to amend by favorable action of two-thirds of the nations without the concurrence of all five of the Great Powers.

It has been suggested that voting in the General Assembly should be weighted on the basis of population, wealth, international trade, etc. While there is merit in this suggestion, it would be inexpedient to adopt such a scheme until the power of the Big Five in the Security Council has been reduced. The proposal would add further to the power of the Great Nations, and they already have too much power.

But none of the above objections is fatal, and it is possible for all of them and others to be corrected as experience shows the need of correction. The merits of the Charter so far outweigh its defects that it would be a major mistake for the United States to decline a position of leadership in attempting to make the Organization work. The Senate's prompt and overwhelming vote for ratification is an encouraging start.

IV

Comparison with League of Nations

The United Nations Organization in general is the same type of organization as the League of Nations, but there are important differences, some favorable to the new Organization and some unfavorable.

The most important improvements made in the Charter of the United Nations over the Covenant of the

League of Nations are the following:

The commitments of each nation not to use force in international relations, to submit disputes to arbitration, to judicial settlement, or to the decision of agencies of the Organization, and to abide by decisions rendered, are more definite and unequivocal under the Charter than under the Covenant. The Charter provides that "all members shall refrain . . . from the threat or use of force," that "parties to any dispute . . . shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement . . ." etc., and that the Security Council may "call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means." Should this fail, they "shall refer" the dispute "to the Security Council," and "the members . . . agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council . . ."⁸³

These provisions create legal duties in member nations not to go to war, to attempt to settle disputes themselves, to submit them to arbitration or judicial settlement, or to submit them to the Security Council and to abide by the decisions rendered. The only use of force permitted without specific Council authority is in self-defense.

Under the Covenant of the League, while the members agree to submit disputes to arbitration, to judicial settlement, or to enquiry by the Council, they only agree "not to resort to war until three months after the award or decision" or that "they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith."⁸⁴ By implication,

These sections seem to legalize war under certain conditions.

The strongest feature of the Charter is that it gives the Organization power to apply economic sanctions or to use military force to stop an aggression or a threat to peace, although unfortunately, as we have seen, these sanctions cannot be applied against a Big Five Power over its negative vote. Under the Covenant, while the member nations were obligated to apply economic sanctions against a member nation going to war contrary to the Covenant, they were not so obligated in the case of a threat to peace, nor were they under a legal duty to apply military force in any case.^{64a} The League could only advise or recommend the use of military force. Thus the Charter gives the United Nations teeth where the League had none.

Under the Charter, the General Assembly may pass important measures by only a two-thirds majority, while under the Covenant passage of a measure by the Assembly required unanimous approval.⁶⁵ Under the Charter, the Security Council may render a decision upon the affirmative vote of seven of its eleven members (provided that, with certain exceptions heretofore discussed, the group of seven includes the Big Five), whereas under the Covenant, Council approval required complete unanimity (always excluding, however, a party to a dispute).⁶⁶

The Charter empowers the Security Council to refer a dispute of legal nature to the World Court and, if it does so, the parties are bound by the Court's decision.⁶⁷ Un-

der the Covenant, the Council could do no more than ask for an advisory opinion, which was not binding on the parties.

The Charter empowers the Secretary-General to call the attention of the Security Council to any matter which, in his opinion, may threaten peace.⁶⁸ There was no comparable provision in the Covenant. The Charter also empowers the Secretary-General to appoint his own staff, under rules established by the General Assembly,⁶⁹ whereas under the Covenant the Secretary-General's appointments had to be approved by the Council.⁷⁰ This would seem to place the General Assembly, rather than the Security Council, in the more influential position with respect to appointments to the Secretariat, which would be desirable. Furthermore, the Charter makes it a duty of members of the Secretariat not to "seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization."⁷¹ The League Covenant placed no such restrictions on the staff of the Secretariat.

Withdrawal of a nation upon two-year's notice was permitted under the League.⁷² There is no provision for withdrawal in the Charter, though the Conference adopted an interpretation that withdrawal would be permitted.

The Charter fairly definitely separates and defines the functions of the different organs of the Organization. The Covenant of the League made no clear separation of powers between its principal organs, the Assembly and the Council. Each of these agencies was authorized to

deal "with any matter within the sphere of action of the League, or affecting the peace of the world." The Charter provisions may have the advantage of making these agencies more responsible, and the making of the Economic and Social Council a "principal" agency of the Organization, as the Charter does, may result in more emphasis being given to economic and social problems of international import.

The principal superiority of the Covenant over the Charter is that even as against a Great Power, deemed guilty of aggression, the Council by unanimous action, excluding the Great Power involved, could recommend the use of either economic sanctions or military force, and thus make such action legal and compatible with Covenant obligations.⁷³ Under the Charter, as has been shown, this cannot be done by the Security Council. If, however, the Security Council ceases to deal with the problem, a recommendation to use economic sanctions or military force can be made by the Assembly; but, since action is involved, it seems that the recommendation can be made only to the Security Council, and not to member nations. Hence, action taken by member nations upon the General Assembly's recommendation would be illegal, and in violation of the covenant of each nation to refrain from the use of force.

Another advantage of the Covenant over the Charter is that by the Covenant, a member of the Council, a party to a dispute, was disqualified to vote in its own case in all steps of the case from start to

finish.⁷⁴ Under the Charter, a Big Five party to a dispute can veto the use of force. However, since the League in no instance could order the use of military force, the question of such a member's using a veto to prevent the use of force could not arise. Perhaps then, this advantage is only slight.

On the whole, it seems to me that the Charter offers an organization more likely to be successful than the League of Nations.

The Authority of Our Delegate on the Security Council

The Charter provides that the Security Council has power to request member nations to supply predetermined contingents of land, air, or naval forces to be used by the Council for the purpose of preventing or stopping an aggression. The details and exact commitments as to the number and types of forces to be furnished and their equipment and location are to be set out in a subsequent agreement, which so far as the United States is concerned may be consummated either by treaty or a joint resolution of Congress.

This provision of the Charter clearly contemplates that delegates on the Security Council shall have power to bind their respective governments. It was realized by the framers that the success of the use of sanctions might frequently turn upon the promptness with which decisions were made and put into execution. If it were necessary to refer such decisions back to the home governments to be ratified, a second Hitler could take over a country or two while our Congress debated

whether or not to confirm the vote of our delegate. Furthermore, if confirmation were necessary, a would-be aggressor, knowing the slowness with which parliamentary bodies act, would feel much less reluctant to commit an aggression than if, to his knowledge, the vote of the Security Council alone would start the international police force moving, or bring bombers and rockets soaring over his head within a few hours. It seems clear that the maximum effectiveness of the Organization requires that all delegates on the Security Council have power to bind their respective governments by Council action.

But, assuming the ratification of the Charter will be followed by an implementing treaty, the question arises as to whether the delegate of the United States on the Security Council can, under the Constitution, be given authority to bind our government to the use of force. Or must the approval of Congress be obtained each time the Council decides upon such action? Under the Constitution, only Congress can declare war, and Congress has no authority to delegate legislative power to the President or anyone else. Calling out the army or the navy to stop a threatened or actual aggression is war. Hence, it is contended the vote of our delegate in favor of military action must be confirmed by Congressional resolution, before it can become effective.

However, assuming that our delegate in casting his vote acts under the direction and authority of the President, I believe his vote can be made to bind our government. There

are numerous instances in which the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, has used military or naval forces without a declaration of war by Congress, to protect United States citizens or their property, or to carry out treaty obligations. A treaty duly ratified by the Senate is the "law of the land" and has the force of legislation in the field in which it operates. After the new Organization is set up and a treaty is ratified by the Senate which obligates us to supply specified military and naval forces for certain purposes, the President would be but fulfilling our treaty obligation if he instructed our delegate to vote for use of our military forces to stop an aggression. It seems reasonable to conclude that the mere fact that we are bound by a treaty to engage in military operations, under specified contingencies which have occurred, would be enough to empower the President to perform the acts necessary to fulfilling the treaty obligation.

However, in order to make assurance doubly sure and to be certain of the support of the Lower House of Congress, which must vote the funds to support our forces anyway, it would be desirable that after the World Organization is set up, and the treaty setting forth our contribution of land, air, and naval forces, has been ratified by the Senate, Congress pass a law specifying the conditions under which the President can use the military and naval forces of the United States. The conditions specified in the law would be the same as those conditions which would justify the Security

Council to call up the forces of member nations for stopping or preventing an aggression. It is not an illegal delegation of legislative power for Congress to direct the President to act upon conditions which are specially set out in the law. It is believed, therefore, that such legislation would not be an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the President. The law would be analogous to the Act which authorizes the President to adjust tariff rates up or down to meet the differences in the cost of production at home and abroad, as determined by him. This Act successfully resisted the attack, in the United States Supreme Court, that it was invalid as being an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the President. The argument for the validity of the proposed act would be equally as strong. Former Attorney General of the United States, William D. Mitchell, advocates the above plan as a constitutional, and at the same time an effective, method for handling the problem.

Possible Evolution of the Organization

As is true of the United States Constitution, the World Charter is of such a character that it has the possibilities of growth and amendment. Through strict interpretation of provisions granting power to the various agencies of the Organization, the development could be in one direction. Through liberal interpretation, the development could be in another direction. A student of the document could, no doubt, think

of many possibilities of growth toward either a stronger or a weaker world system.

A possible line of development in the direction of strengthening the Organization would be as follows: Under the Charter, the Security Council has power to request parties to a legal dispute to refer it to the International Court of Justice for decision,⁷⁵ and the parties agree that they will do as requested.⁷⁶ After the matter has been referred to the Court and a judgment rendered, the parties agree to comply with the judgment of the Court.⁷⁷ If a nation against which the Court has rendered a judgment fails to comply with the judgment, the Security Council can be asked to "decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment."⁷⁸ The more cases the Council refers to the Court, the more opportunities the Court would have to develop and broaden international law. Now suppose the Security Council should, as years go by, adopt the policy of referring as many cases as possible to the Court for decision, and of regarding itself as primarily the enforcing agency, or police force, for executing the Court's decisions. This would result in developing a larger and larger body of international law, and in the Court's being able to resolve more and more disputes by the application of principles of law. It might ultimately become the normal practice for all international disputes to be referred to and settled by the Court. This course of development would gradually approach the pattern followed

within nations in their regulation of the conduct of individuals.

The General Assembly, by Charter provision, may "consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security . . . and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council."¹⁹ Under this provision, the General Assembly may recommend the adoption of principles of international law. Thus the General Assembly may ultimately come to be the agency for drafting codes and for originating new principles of international law and equity, the International Court the agency for interpreting and applying these principles in the settlement of disputes between nations, and the Security Council the agency for executing and enforcing the Organization's decisions.

The above suggestion is not to be interpreted as a prediction, but merely as a possibility, if the countries of the world are willing to move in that direction. The suggestion is made only to show that the Charter itself is adequate to permit development in the direction of a strong organization, if such an organization is desired. A different kind of charter, or even formal amendments to this one, are not necessary for developing a strong organization.

As already stated, development in exactly the opposite direction would

also be possible under the terms of the Charter. The Security Council could decline to refer any cases to the Court, could refuse to supply force to back any decisions the Court might render, and could reject cooperation with the General Assembly in its attempt to originate new principles of international law. This line of development would not be calculated to lay the foundations for a durable world organization.

Thus it is seen that the Charter is a sufficiently flexible pattern into which to fit the kind of world structure we want. What it is to be will depend upon the desires of the peoples of the world, as expressed through their governments.

Conclusion

In deciding to cast her lot with a World Organization, the United States has not been offered a choice between a perfect and an imperfect course of action. She has been offered a choice between staying out of the world system, of playing a lone, unentangled hand in international affairs, or of joining an imperfect world organization, which has possibilities of being developed into a worth-while and effective instrument for the administration of international affairs. We have tried the first alternative. It failed to prevent a world war. We have not tried the second. It offers hope of peace.

References

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2. Charter, Arts. 33 to 38.
3. Charter, Arts. 39 to 51.
4. Charter, Art. 36.
5. Charter, Art. 37.
6. Charter, Art. 36(3).

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8. Charter, Art. 2(3).
9. Charter, Art. 25.
10. Charter, Art. 94.
11. Charter, Art. 41.
12. Charter, Art. 42.
13. Charter, Art. 43.
14. Charter, Art. 47.
15. Charter, Art. 47(3).
16. Charter, Art. 47(4).
17. Charter, Art. 51.
18. Charter, Art. 27.
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20. Charter, Art. 94.
21. Charter, Art. 9.
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23. Charter, Art. 13.
24. Charter, Art. 15.
25. Charter, Art. 17.
26. Charter, Art. 23.
27. Charter, Art. 61.
28. Charter, Art. 86.
29. Statute, Arts. 4, 8, 10.
30. Charter, Art. 18.
31. Charter, Art. 61.
32. Charter, Art. 67.
33. Charter, Art. 62.
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35. Charter, Art. 25.
36. Charter, Arts. 13, 62.
37. Statute, Art. 36.
38. Statute, Arts. 3, 13.
39. Statute, Arts. 10, 5, 6.
40. Statute, Art. 2.
41. Statute, Art. 36.
42. Statute, Art. 36; Charter, Art. 36(3).
43. Statute, Arts. 65 to 68.
44. Statute, Art. 55.
45. Statute, Art. 31.
46. Charter, Art. 94;
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47. Statute, Arts. 26, 27.
48. Charter, Art. 97.
49. Charter, Art. 101.
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51. Charter, Art. 99.
52. Charter, Arts. 75 to 91.
53. Charter, Art. 76.
54. Charter, Art. 87.
55. Charter, Art. 86.
56. Charter, Art. 77.
57. Charter, Arts. 82 and 83.
58. Charter, Art. 2(4).
59. Charter, Art. 2(3).
60. Charter, Art. 2(2).
61. Charter, Art. 25.
62. Charter, Art. 94.
63. Charter, Arts. 2, 25, 33 to 38.
64. Covenant, Arts. 12 and 15.
- 64a. Covenant, Art. 16.
65. Covenant, Art. 5.
66. Covenant, Art. 5.
67. Charter, Arts. 36(3) and 94(1).
68. Charter, Art. 99.
69. Charter, Art. 101.
70. Covenant, Art. 6(3).
71. Charter, Art. 100.
72. Covenant, Art. 1(3).
73. Covenant, Art. 16(1) (2).
74. Covenant, Art. 15(6) (7).
75. Charter, Art. 36(3).
76. Charter, Arts. 25 and 33(2).
77. Charter, Art. 94; Statute, Art. 60.
78. Charter, Art. 94(2).
79. Charter, Art. 11.

Liquid Asset Holdings.—During the war holdings by individuals and business of liquid assets, i.e., cash, bank deposits, and United States Government securities, have shown a tremendous expansion. In the five years from the end of 1939 to the end of 1944 the total of these holdings increased from 66 billion dollars to 194 billions. The growth is continuing at a rate of about 50 billion dollars a year. By the end of the war total holdings of liquid assets will probably be as much as four times the maximum prewar amount. —From the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, June, 1945.

We Need Those Depressions

RALPH B. BLODGETT

Meneough Advertising Agency, Des Moines

ROGER BABSON once told how the business cycle has been rolling for 5,000 years—50 centuries. He told how the really smart men of many ages have tried to get rid of depressions with no success at all. We millions who try to buck the cycle are crushed. The few who get on and ride the cycle might well call it the gravy wagon.

It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished, for they have many desirable features. Those who learn to "ride the business cycle" can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms—personal, as well as business advantages. Smart folks take advantage of the boom. They save what they can and keep their savings liquid. They are then ready for depression-time bargains, bargains in every conceivable thing from a suit of clothes to a railroad. Many even welcome unemployment as a chance to relax and to use spare time in various profitable ways. Those who live on fixed incomes, such as insurance benefits, welcome the depression-time drop in living costs. From time to time the whole price structure—and the economic setup—needs readjustments, such as come with depressions.

That very name "depression" is inappropriate. It horribly maligns those great periods so full of splendid opportunities and human benefits. Let us keep those periods but abolish only the name. Let us use some other name. "Business Recess"

suggests an interval of leisure for rest and perhaps play, which such a period always brings. Perhaps "Economic Winter" would describe it more completely and accurately. Some economic research foundation might well offer prizes for suitable names, and select the best one.

The Four Economic Seasons

The four seasons of the business cycle closely parallel the four seasons of the year. In Economic Spring, or recovery, we see new businesses springing up everywhere, and the sap rising in old ones whereby they spring into new and vigorous life. We also note the wrecks of dead enterprises that could not survive the winter. The rate of growth accelerates until Economic Summer, which we now call boom time. Growth then slows down and stops. A ripening harvest of high wages, profits, and investment yields calls for some reapers who will save much, cancel debts, and store their surplus in the granaries called banks, at low interest rates. Beware, now, of the temptation to plant new crops of industrial enterprise or "promising" investments. Beware of the spirit of free-spending extravagance. Beware, too, of speculative fever.

Economic Fall, or the slump season, will soon bring a falling off of business and employment, and a freezing of all credit fields. Wise operators will now harvest late

"corn crops," from some continuing high wages and profits. A few will sow their winter wheat or rye in the form of sporting goods or recreational enterprises, or take cuttings from old established enterprises to be transplanted at new distribution centers. But mostly they will quietly work and wait, and take pleasure in their stored-up harvest. They will relax more and enjoy their hunting trips, football games, or what have you?

Economic Winter brings a long period of low temperatures in business and employment, low prices and wages. Soon after winter sets in, a universal vacation interval is to be noted, somewhat comparable to a Christmas vacation. Roger Babson pointed out in an article published in *World's Work* in 1931, that nearly every so-called depression brings with it a new recreational fad and revives a lot of old ones. Thus baseball got its start in the slump after the Civil War. Tennis, ping pong, bicycle riding, golf, and miniature golf either were introduced or received a great impetus in periods of depression.

This tendency reflects a great human need for relaxation after the tremendous exertion of boom time. Unemployment brings needed rest to millions, whether they are ready for it or not.

Potential Catastrophes

Every winter would be a national catastrophe if all we did was to hope that we would never have another one, and never turn a hand to prepare for one. Then we could malign it also with a derogatory

name, such as "Suffering Season," for most of us would freeze or starve or wreck our health from exposure.

But no. We build warm dwellings and make warm clothing. We manufacture heating plants and produce all kinds of fuel. We thrive on the business and employment of preparations for winter. To top it all off, we produce a great variety of winter sporting goods, and get a lot of enjoyment out of this potential catastrophe called winter. We give the kids a week or two of Christmas vacation and turn them loose to enjoy the fun.

But because we blind our eyes to many years of history and refuse to prepare for the next Business Recess, we make of it a great national catastrophe. Yet it is a perfectly natural, normal, and wholly desirable rest period, overflowing with rich benefits.

There is always a sprinkling of common laborers, industrial giants, school teachers, doctors, farmers, and storekeepers who get ready to enjoy those benefits. In boom times, when most people are spending freely, going in debt or speculating, these persons quietly pay off their debts, economize, save up cash, and keep it liquid, at low rates of return. Just ahead they see bargains in every conceivable thing from a railroad to a suit of clothes.

A Railroad at a Bargain

The financial panic of 1893 virtually stopped the development of the West, especially that of the great western plains. It forced fifty-four

railroads, with a total capitalization of \$2,500,000,000, into bankruptcy.

The Union Pacific represented an investment of nearly \$200,000,000. In 1895 the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. bought it for \$81 millions, less than half the original cost. Probably that was all it was worth in its run-down condition, but in terms of its tremendous possibilities, it was a great depression-time bargain.

One man saw those possibilities, the bold, fearless, colorful Edward L. Harriman. By maneuvering, he first became a member of the board of directors, next of the executive committee, and then obtained the chairmanship of the latter. In 1918, he had a train made up backwards, observation car in front, next the train, and last the engine. Out in front he went over every mile of all that road in daylight, to complete his minute and scrutinizing study of it.

He saw the lingering five-year depression of the western "ghost towns," with the people entirely gone, and other towns from which half the settlers had drifted back east. He saw idleness and poverty and despair.

But beyond all that, he plainly saw the end of the depression, which would bring returning prosperity and rising prices. He boldly asked his bankers for the huge sum of \$25 millions wherewith to ballast roadbeds, straighten out curves, halve the pitch of all steep grades, and put in heavier rolling stock. He urged the spending of this sum while prices of labor and materials were low. He could thus get much more improvement for the money.

Incidentally he put many thousands of idle men to work at what was then a fair living wage, for living costs were also low.

Not only was the whole Union Pacific railroad bought as a depression-time bargain, but it was also rebuilt and revitalized at a bargain. In a few years it raised wages, reduced freight rates, paid off its debts, began paying dividends, and made possible the doubling and trebling of farm land values in whole states, as well as the expansion of manufactures.

In these days a million people may have to ride the business cycle to do as much for recovery as Harriman's one railroad did.

Other Bargains in Season

These business-recess bargains are not confined to large operations. One man got bargains in two suits of clothes and then a hardware store in the slump of 1922. He had always been careful with money, and was never moved by the spirit of gambling and extravagance of boom times. When business and profits and personal earnings fell off, he was attracted to two good suits at a bargain price of 50 per cent off. Later, he moved to another city and found a little neighborhood hardware store for sale at a bargain price. He bought it and made his living there until his retirement two years ago at the age of eighty-one.

Anyone who would like to see the wide range of "depression-time" bargains can go back to old files of newspapers dated in the depths of any business recess or "Economic

Winter." In the want ads can be seen every conceivable article offered for sale at ridiculously low bargain prices: building lots, bungalows, mansions, summer cottages, motor boats, farms, pure-bred bulls, fur coats, jewelry, retail stores, factories, used cars, trucks, and home furnishings. In the general advertising there can be found a great variety of new merchandise for sale at greatly reduced prices: clothing, furniture, rugs, gas stoves, electric equipment, etc. And on the stock market opportunities are offered to buy up a controlling interest in small or large corporations, or perhaps even a railroad, whose stock has gone begging.

Most people succumb to boom-time speculative fever and extravagance. When the slump comes, they have no quick assets to tide them over the hard times. They may even be in debt. Whatever they have bought with their high earnings they are forced to sell at a huge sacrifice. They sorely need the cash, and are greatly helped by the bargain-hunting cycle riders.

We All Need Rest

There is more to riding the business cycle than mere financial operations, however. Roger Babson pointed out that every boom exhausts us all. The rush of business, the long hours of overtime, the nervous tension—all make us act like tired people. The efficiency of both labor and capital goes steadily downward. As we lose our judgment and sense of values we speculate crazily. Our jangled nerves make us irritable until we have strikes and lockouts—labor

troubles with both sides vilifying each other. Finally we get so full of fear that prices collapse and few people have clear enough vision to see the possibilities ahead and work them out.

This reveals another great human benefit of a "Business Recess," a chance to make it a real recess in the school of life, a chance to relax and play and rest. When millions of us instinctively satisfy that need, another recreational fad breaks out. But along with it, we have a great heaviness of heart, we worry about our recent losses, our unemployment and our blacked-out future prospects, because we have not prepared for such a crisis.

Of even more value than the rich bargains previously referred to is the opportunity for unworried rest and relaxation—for those who have harvested a crop of canceled debts and cash in bank. For them enforced unemployment brings a chance to get some real enjoyment out of life. Once out of the treadmill of a daily job, one can afford to travel cheaply, develop a long-cherished hobby, catch up on reading, go to a trade or business school, or even to college. This unworried shift to entirely new scenes or new occupations will soon revive one's self-confidence, vision, efficiency, and value as a profitable employee. It will restore his employability and the health and fighting spirit wherewith he can go after a new job and hold it.

Our returning servicemen will be thoroughly exhausted, many so nervous and jittery they will not be good for much for months to come.

the provision for granting them \$100 discharge pay is excellent. For many of them it will be enough to have a relaxation period and sufficient time to get tuned up again. For the rest it will help a good deal. The stresses and strains of war have worn us all down far worse than an ordinary business boom. At a strange thing happens after major wars. After the Civil War and after World War I, we had short recesses of a year or two. Then we caught our second wind and had six years of busy reconstruction, until finally the real post-war recession hit us, lasting six years in the seventies and nine years in the thirties.

One serious factor made the last depression last longer than it might have otherwise. If you and I try to charge more for our goods and services than the people feel in the mood to pay, we won't get much business. And because, on a national scale, we tried so hard to keep up wages and prices, we got so little business as to give us a chronic standing army of ten million unemployed. Had we allowed both wages and prices to seek their natural level, we should have come out of the depression sooner.

What to Do About It

What, then, can we do about these crises we call "depressions," which are so full of rich human benefits? Why not set out to sell ten million people on the ways of riding the business cycle? Let newspaper, magazine, and radio reporters write true stories about people who have ridden the cycle and found it to be

profitable. Let them find the story of the clerk who harvested cheap dollars in a boom, lost his job in the slump, then rode his photography hobby that finally placed him with a portrait studio as a retoucher and tinter. Let them tell the story of the banker who was let out through a merger, took a trip to Alaska, came back with new courage and vision, and became an executive in an aircraft plant.

Let this be the start of a great campaign to teach America how to ride the business cycle. Then let economic research foundations and other proper agencies publicize true stories and experiences on this subject.

One man may have had the cash to build a home at bargain costs for labor and material after the slump of 1923; another was all set to take it easy and travel at excursion rates when times were bad in 1907; a woman restocked her whole wardrobe and linen supply once when business slowed up and prices were slashed. On the other hand, someone may have failed to take advantage of such a period and now sees clearly that he should have ridden the cycle. Such a program would set tens of thousands of individuals to thinking of ways to ride the business cycle. Several million readers would see the printed stories.

A second campaign, suggesting suitable postwar plans for railroad conductors, stenographers, doctors' wives, teachers, storekeepers, and even high executives, should interest more thousands of writers and more

millions of readers in postwar planning for themselves.

What would happen if ten million people would learn to ride the present cycle?

By keeping several billions of savings off a booming speculative market, they would depress the boom peaks. By cleaning up their debts, they would curb the crazy credit expansion to some extent. Later on, by spending more freely for hobbies, travel, schooling, relaxation, and all the rich harvest of bargains, they would tend to fill up

the deep gorges in the valley now misnamed depression. By spending their saved billions they would put idle persons to work and greatly relieve the situation for the many who would be both idle and broke.

There is a big job to be done, the job of showing all America that the miscalled "depressions" offer as wide a range of rich opportunities and human benefits as a prosperity season or any other part of the business cycle. We ought to show all the people that WE NEED THOSE "DEPRESSIONS."

Resourcefulness of Industry.—During the war there have been two major demonstrations of the resourcefulness of American industry. The first was the speed of conversion from peace to war production. The second has been the surprisingly large volume of civilian goods turned out through ingenious recourse to new or substitute materials and new ways to save materials and labor. Problems of getting new machinery, procuring materials, retraining labor, and others of a like nature also are capable of solution in great part by superior energy and resourcefulness. Faith in these qualities was not misplaced during the earlier periods of this war, which in itself is a good reason why reliance may be placed upon them now.—From the July letter of the National City Bank of New York.

The Mighty Seventh.—Final tabulations for the Seventh War Loan showed subscriptions amounting to the all-time peak of \$26,313,000,000, almost double the quota of \$14 billions. New records were set for sales both to individuals and to corporations.

Drop in Employment.—The Bureau of the Census recently reported that between May and June nonagricultural employment decreased for the first time in six years. Cutbacks in certain war production programs were reflected in a decline of almost half a million workers in the first month after V-E Day.

The Work of the High School Visitor's Office

CLYDE M. CAMPBELL

Office of the High School Visitor, University of Illinois

THE organic law establishing the University of Illinois gave to this institution the right, and assigned to it the duty of satisfactorily determining the fitness of the preparation of those who seek to enter it.

"In the first published statement of entrance requirements issued by the Committee of Courses of Study and Faculty for the Illinois Industrial University,' in 1867, occurs the following: 'The reasonable construction of the Statute is that while the University shall not comprehend the ordinary common school studies, it shall so arrange its terms of admission that the public school may be able to meet them, and that there be left no unbridged chasm between the body of the State School System and the University of its head.'"¹

In 1878 the system of accrediting schools was begun. In its early days the system of accrediting was a two-fold one whereby certain schools were designated whose examination was accepted in lieu of the University entrance examination so that students need not make the trip to the University, and other schools

were visited by faculty members and the graduates admitted without examination. The practice of admitting students to the University upon the basis of examination by certain schools was soon dropped but the practice of accrediting grew. On June 9, 1896, the following recommendation of President Draper was adopted by the Board of Trustees:

To the Board of Trustees:

The time has come when it seems imperatively necessary that the University should employ a man whose special duty it shall be to visit high schools with a view to placing them, or continuing them, upon the accrediting list of the University. The work has heretofore been done by members of the Faculty and always with more or less inconvenience to their regular University work, as well as without the best results upon the field. When the examinations of high schools are made by different members of the Faculty, of course, there is an inevitable variety of judgment exercised in determining their status. I am confident that it would be very greatly to the advantage of University work, that it would promote the best relations between the University and the high schools, and that it would have a stimulating and helpful effect upon high school work throughout the state, if we could have the right man, whose time should be exclusively devoted to that important interest. I therefore recommend that authority be given the

Interrelationship of High Schools and University, H. A. Hollister, Proceedings of the High School Conference of November 19, 20, 21, 1925. University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 27, p. 11.

President to employ such a man for the ensuing year at a salary not to exceed \$1200.00.

Very truly yours,

A. S. DRAPER, *President*

In the early history of the Office of the High School Visitor, the number of accredited schools was small. It was possible for one man with the assistance of selected faculty members to visit these schools each year. In 1902, Professor H. A. Hollister came to the University of Illinois as High School Visitor. For a number of years he, with the help of faculty members, visited the secondary schools of the State to determine their relationship with the University. At the time he took office there were in the State 204 accredited schools, both public and private. With the organization of the community and township high school districts the number of schools which could afford to operate accredited schools increased rapidly. Two full-time assistants were employed. In 1925 the number of accredited schools had increased to 632. At the present time there are 897 accredited schools in the State of Illinois and the office is now staffed with one High School Visitor and four full-time assistants.

A School Visit

Visiting might be described as a one-day survey of a school. When the Chicago schools are visited, representatives from the different departments of the University assist the members of the High School Visitor's Office in the visitation pro-

gram. The visitors evaluate, with the school personnel, the various needs of the high school ranging from the building and equipment to the improvement of instruction in the individual classrooms. For many years the visitors have considered their work to be that of seeing that schools were properly equipped and adequately staffed to prepare pupils for work at the University. And as a result of the recommendations made by the staff of the High School Visitor's Office, many schools have placed home economics, agriculture, industrial arts, commerce, music, and other courses in their curricula.

The service of the department, however, includes more than accrediting. School officials turn to the High School Visitor's Office for help and advice in all phases of their educational work. The pattern of the objectives of the work of this office was seen early in the history of the office. Allan Nevins, in his history of Illinois, published in 1917, commented on the work of the High School Visitor. He pointed out that the work produced many tangible results in higher educational standards but he pointed to, as more important, "intangible accomplishments of keeping alive in high school teachers a scientific interest in pedagogy, and of effecting a warmer understanding between the University and the high schools."²

² Allan Nevins: *Illinois*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1917, page 328.

Accrediting Bulletin

The staff of the department publishes bulletins and counsels with boards of education, lay organizations, administrators, and teachers about educational problems. The most widely circulated and used bulletin, published jointly by the University of Illinois and the State Department of Public Instruction, is entitled "The Recognition and Accrediting of Illinois Secondary Schools." It contains criteria for instruction and spirit, school plant, editorial service and safety, instructional equipment and supplies, school library and library service, school records, administration and supervision, preparation of the instructional staff, teaching load, pupil load, and the educational program. In addition to these criteria, the requirements for admission to the University of Illinois are listed and explained in detail. School administrators, college officials, and members of the State Department of Public Instruction have had a part in establishing the rules and regulations.

Improvement of Schools

Through the maintenance and enforcement of these standards, remarkable improvements have been made in the high schools of the State. Before the war, most of the administrators in Illinois had Master's degrees and almost all the academic teachers had Bachelors' degrees. The members of the cooperative study of secondary schools, who visited high schools in many

states, reported that the buildings, equipment, programs of study, and qualifications of the staffs of Illinois high schools were far above the average of the states in the nation. In other words, the criteria, serving as a guide to desirable school practice, have been significantly helpful to boards of education, administrators, and teachers, in improving local school situations.

Cooperation With the State Department of Public Instruction

In Illinois the State Department of Public Instruction is charged with the responsibility for recognizing high schools. The procedure followed by the State Department of Public Instruction is similar in most respects to that used by the University of Illinois for accrediting. The visitors make the report of their visits to a reviewing committee for final approval or disapproval of recommendations. To avoid duplication of services, it has been agreed that the reports of the visits of the State Department will be accepted for accrediting by the University of Illinois, subject to the approval of the Committee on Admissions from Secondary Schools. The State Department will accept the reports of the High School Visitor's Office for recognition, subject to the approval of its reviewing committee. To facilitate this arrangement, the State is divided into an east and a west side. The University, for example, visits on the east side of the State one year and on the west side the next year.

Committee on Admissions From Secondary Schools

All reports of visitations are made to the University Committee on Admissions from Secondary Schools. The committee is composed of five faculty members appointed by the Senate of the University. The High School Visitor and the Registrar are members of this committee. The High School Visitor acts in an ex-officio capacity as secretary. At regular meeting dates the members of the High School Visitor's Office and representatives from the State Department of Public Instruction make the final recommendations for accrediting. When the Committee on Admissions decides that the achievements of a particular school are satisfactory, a certificate is issued to the school indicating that it is accredited by the University of Illinois. Most of the schools are visited once every three years for a new appraisal of their standing. At the present time there are almost 900 schools accredited by the University of Illinois. Accrediting means that all graduates, without examination, may enter the University by presenting a certificate of graduation together with the necessary high school credits for entrance into the various colleges and schools on the campus.

North Central Association

The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary schools is a regional accrediting agency including twenty states in the north-central area. Standards of this Association are similar in most re-

spects to those established by the University of Illinois and the State Department of Public Instruction. The final approval of schools, however, is made by a regional reviewing committee that meets annually to consider the recommendations of each of the state committees. The state committee in Illinois is composed of a chairman from the High School Visitor's Office, a representative from the State Department of Public Instruction, and five public school administrators selected by the Illinois High School Principals' Association. The visitation reports, submitted for accrediting to the University of Illinois, are used by the state committee to evaluate the North Central Association member schools for accrediting. At the present time there are 472 high schools in Illinois that are members of this Association.

High School Conferences

For a number of years the High School Visitor's Office sponsored an annual high school conference held early in the school year, usually in October or November. School administrators and teachers from all high schools in the State were invited to attend. The meetings were professional in nature. The opening session on Wednesday morning and the closing session on Saturday morning were for school administrators. On the second day, sectional meetings were held for teachers of the various subjects in the high school curriculum. Educators who had distinguished themselves professionally were invited to the campus to address the various

groups and the general sessions. The large attendance of administrators and teachers from all sections of the State attested to the popularity and value of the conference as an educational meeting.

Regional Conferences

Because of restrictions on travel, the High School Conference was discontinued until after the war. To help the public school administrators with educational problems, twelve regional conferences have been held this year.

The meetings were called regional conferences, although they might well have been called study discussion groups. The purpose of the meetings was to throw revealing light on major problems in education through the thoughtful exchange of opinions in group discussion. It is to be noted that there were actually two purposes. The first was to bring forth new ideas on selected subjects and the second was to foster the cooperative method for attaining intellectual growth. This approach to the solution of educational problems has been effective in results. From these discussions, members of the High School Visitor's Office better understood the viewpoint of school administrators on practical school problems. The administrators, through their participatory activities, learned better the method of thinking cooperatively. The meetings verified the fact that cooperative group thinking is an intellectual skill that can be improved through practice. And because of its promising possibilities, it was recommended

that school administrators seriously consider the procedure as a way of working with the school staff, the community, and the pupils in the classroom.

Since these were group discussions, a special effort was made to secure participation from all. What seemed to individual members to be unimportant details frequently proved to be significant contributions to the group. One of the most important results of the meetings was the change that was produced in many of the active participants. When a problem is one of concern and one that is being solved cooperatively by a free exchange of opinion it frequently alters in a significant way old ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and ideals. Individuals are influenced by the group through the sharing of significant ideas.

These regional conferences were planned some time in advance of the date of the meetings. A planning committee, composed of County Superintendents of Schools, secondary school administrators, and members of the High School Visitor's Office, chose the subjects and questions for discussion. The program, as arranged by the planning committee, was then mailed to all the administrators in the conference area. It was suggested that the participants study materials on the topics and consider the proposed problems as they would apply to the local school situation.

There were four sessions during the day, beginning at nine o'clock in the morning and lasting until ten-thirty at night. In the morning meeting there was a panel on the "Im-

provement of Instruction." The first topic for presentation in the afternoon was "The Organization and Distribution of Administrative Duties." Following this panel there was a discussion on "School-Community Relationships." The evening session was devoted to a panel discussion of problems that are faced by the boards of education.

Future Work of the Office

That schools should constantly change their programs to meet the needs of an ever-changing world is becoming an axiomatic statement in the educational profession. Projecting thinking into the future is an intelligent course for any organization to follow, for it tends to keep the organization in step with the rapidly moving developments of the modern world. The High School Visitor's Office is considering various plans for the improvement of services to the public schools. This year, in the regional conferences, twenty-five University of Illinois faculty members, including the Provost and most of the Deans of the various schools and colleges, participated in one or more group discussions with public school administrators. There may be an enlargement of this service in the future. For the past three years special at-

tention has been given to the establishment of developmental centers, giving particular attention to the improvement of instruction especially in the field of social studies. Significant results have been achieved. It is the plan to expand the work of the office in this direction. Needed changes in school programs will receive serious consideration. Professional meetings will be held, attended by public school people, University officials, and representatives from the State Department of Public Instruction, to discuss ways and means of improving secondary education in Illinois.

It is the responsibility of the Committee on Admissions from Secondary Schools, working through the Office of the High School Visitor, to supervise the accrediting of high schools by the University for admissions to the University of Illinois. It is the duty of this Committee to determine, with the approval of the University Senate, the conditions for accrediting of high schools, to specify the criteria by which they shall be evaluated, to give advice and guidance to the secondary schools, and to encourage and promote the development of sound educational policies pertaining to secondary education in the State of Illinois.

The War Training Program of the Division of University Extension

ROBERT B. BROWNE and HARRY C. ROUNTREE

Division of University Extension, University of Illinois

EVEN before Pearl Harbor, as the nation was preparing to defend itself in the midst of a growing likelihood of war, there was revealed a great dearth of technically trained men for the production industries. The Congress, taking cognizance of this lack of a sufficient supply of engineers, technologists, and other upper-level industrial specialists, made an appropriation of funds to the Office of Education and asked it to call upon the universities of the nation to assist in meeting this need. Those universities which maintain colleges of engineering and, later, universities with graduate programs in chemistry, physics, or production management were asked to enter into contracts with the Office of Education to furnish training in those fields for the war industries, so that American industry might undertake quickly the production of the vast amount of materiel required for the Army, the Navy, the Marines, and the Coast Guard.

The Purpose of the Program

The program was designed to assist the war industries directly and specifically with their personnel problems, as they converted from the production of consumer goods to the manufacture of airplanes, tanks, munitions, and all the rest of the vast paraphernalia that must be fed

into the insatiable maw of modern war. The funds furnished by the Federal government under these contracts were available primarily for in-service training of the employees in those industries which had war contracts, prime or sub. It was complementary to the vocational trades training programs administered by the various state boards of vocational education and was intended for high-grade employees who might be designated as the officers and noncommissioned officers of the army of industry. The courses were to be restricted to the fields of engineering, the sciences, and production management. The University of Illinois entered into such contracts at the behest of the government and the program was administered through the Division of University Extension. This was appropriate because, although a certain amount of training was conducted on the campus, the greater part was primarily an extension program conducted in the areas in which the war industries were located.

It was intended to allow a maximum initiative to the institution in devising and proposing the type of courses which the particular institution was qualified and willing to undertake. The Office of Education called in men from the universities to serve as the general staff for the

national administration of the program, whose principal function was to receive proposals originating with the institutions themselves, to ascertain whether those proposals were within the law, and to allocate to the institutions the necessary funds. It was understood from the beginning that the program was to be temporary in nature, addressed to an attack on an emergency, and with a minimum of direction from the national level. The wisdom of this general policy was clearly demonstrated as the work developed. By following this plan, it was possible to make use of the familiarity possessed by the local institutions with the needs of their respective areas.

The Procedure Used at Illinois

The Division of University Extension early devised a method of procedure, the principal elements of which were: (1) a survey, conducted jointly by representatives of the University and representatives of the industries, to discover the educational needs; (2) the designing of courses of study in the light of the information revealed by the survey, with the principal responsibility resting upon faculty members of the appropriate teaching departments; (3) the designation of faculty members to be in educational charge of the courses. Their responsibilities consisted in maintaining appropriate standards of instruction, recruiting teachers for the courses from members of the University's own faculty, from qualified men from the industries, and from other educational institutions, and assisting the teachers with their classroom prob-

lems. This method of operation called for close cooperation among the administrative staff of the Division, the deans, members of various departmental teaching faculties, and the industries themselves. As the work developed and as the intention of the program became better known, this cooperation was readily obtained.

Scope of the Program

The procedure just outlined resulted in a program of an extensive and varied nature. It was not the relatively simple matter of taking the ordinary university courses, many of them long established and clearly developed, to be transplanted to the localities where the workers resided, but of building new courses aimed toward specific training targets, many of which were highly advanced. Approximately 165 courses were developed for more than 2,000 Illinois war industries. The list of courses includes such varied titles as: Industrial Electronic Control Devices, Ultra-high Frequency Techniques, Engineering Mathematics, Safety Engineering, Personnel and Industrial Relations, Aircraft Production Processes, Production Illustration, Cost Standards for Industrial Control, Chemistry of Powder and Explosives, Military Map Making, Heat Treatment of Plain Carbon Steels, Techniques in Wartime Testing and Research with X-rays, as well as the more usual courses in Electrical Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Theoretical and Applied Mechanics, Accounting, Industrial Management, Chemistry, and Physics.

The University of Illinois entered into an agreement with other qualified Illinois colleges and universities to allocate primary responsibilities so as to prevent unnecessary and expensive duplication of effort. It was agreed, for example, that the Illinois Institute of Technology would take primary responsibility for the war training in the City of Chicago together with other Chicago universities. A similar responsibility for the rest of the state was assigned to the University of Illinois. It was notable that there was a minimum of friction among the institutions and an absence of institutional jealousy as they joined together in this important task.

As a result, almost 40,000 students were enrolled with the University under this program during the four years of its existence, and classes were conducted in approximately eighty communities located in the various industrial regions of the state. Some of the centers were small, but the Division of University Extension had adopted a policy that its program was not to be governed primarily by questions of numbers and sizes.

Some of the courses were conducted specifically for the Army or for the Navy and some of the classes were conducted on the campuses in order to make use of laboratory and shop facilities impossible to duplicate elsewhere. Several groups of students recruited by the Signal Corps were trained on the campus as Aircraft Engineering aides. A Diesel Engineering School for officers of the Navy was held on the campus also, which prepared

these officers for the amphibious operations so successfully conducted later in both theaters of the war.

Many of the classes were held during the evening hours and were attended by the students after having finished the day's shift. The local public school system, a local college, or a local private school permitted the use of classrooms, drafting rooms, and laboratories for such classes as were conducted during the out-of-work hours. In other instances, the classes were conducted in the plants themselves and on plant time. The classes were kept small so as to insure individual attention and participation. For most courses, whenever enrollments ran over 25, new sections were opened. In a few instances in which highly specialized instruction was being given and expensive individual equipment was required, the classes were even smaller. Enrollment was voluntary; no fees were charged, but the student was required to supply his own text and miscellaneous classroom materials. Upon the successful completion of a course, the student was given a certificate. No college credit was granted for any of the courses.

Some of the courses had the special objective of carrying to the industries and the operators the results of recent University research, which is a particularly important function of University Extension. Illustrative of this were the courses in Fuel Utilization and the Conservation of Fuels. Many other courses embodied the prompt conveyance of findings of University research to industry.

To be eligible for this training, in so far as most of the courses were concerned, the student had to be a high school graduate, employed in a war industry or with the immediate and definite prospect of such employment. For certain of the other courses, there were prerequisites, but these prerequisites were limited to specific preparatory training without which the student would have little likelihood of pursuing an advanced course properly. The entire venture was an urgent, wartime, emergency affair necessitating rapid, intensive work. Such appraisal as it has been possible to make indicates that work of good quality was done and that vital training needs were met. The offices of the Division have received many expressions, both from the industries and from the men and women enrolled in the courses revealing a high measure of satisfaction with the general method of operation, the instruction, and the results obtained.

Postwar Plans for Continuation

Because of the use made of this instruction by individuals in improving their skill and efficiency, and by industries in increasing the quality and quantity of products and services in the war effort, there is a widespread demand for a continuance in some form of the helpful services given through this instruction.

The Division of University Extension of the University of Illinois welcomes the opportunity to meet this demand. Its purpose will be to make the University's teaching resources available to individuals and

industries through the period of re-conversion and re-establishment of a normal industrial economy, and thus make these resources play as effective a part in the postwar development of Illinois as they have played in aiding its war industries under the Engineering, Science, and Management War Training Program.

It will provide instruction in engineering, commerce, liberal arts, and other fields, with emphasis on upper-division and professional levels. Special emphasis will be placed on instruction in the many new engineering fields which have been expanded in war use and which will have significant postwar applications, as, for example, radio and electronics, plastics, stress analysis, and instrumentation.

Industrial organizations will find the Division of University Extension equipped to assist in planning and carrying out educational and training programs, in cooperation with company departments in charge of these activities. Inquiries are most welcome.

Instruction will be offered on both a credit and a non-credit basis, and at fees similar to those which have been established for other University Extension services.

A number of courses have already been developed and are available to individuals and industries. Other courses may be developed to meet urgent and specific training needs at any time. The staff members of the Division of University Extension are ready and willing to assist interested persons in arriving at a satisfactory solution to their educational problems, and invite inquiries.

"The Peoria Plan Veterans' Service Center"

H. A. VONACHEN, M.D.

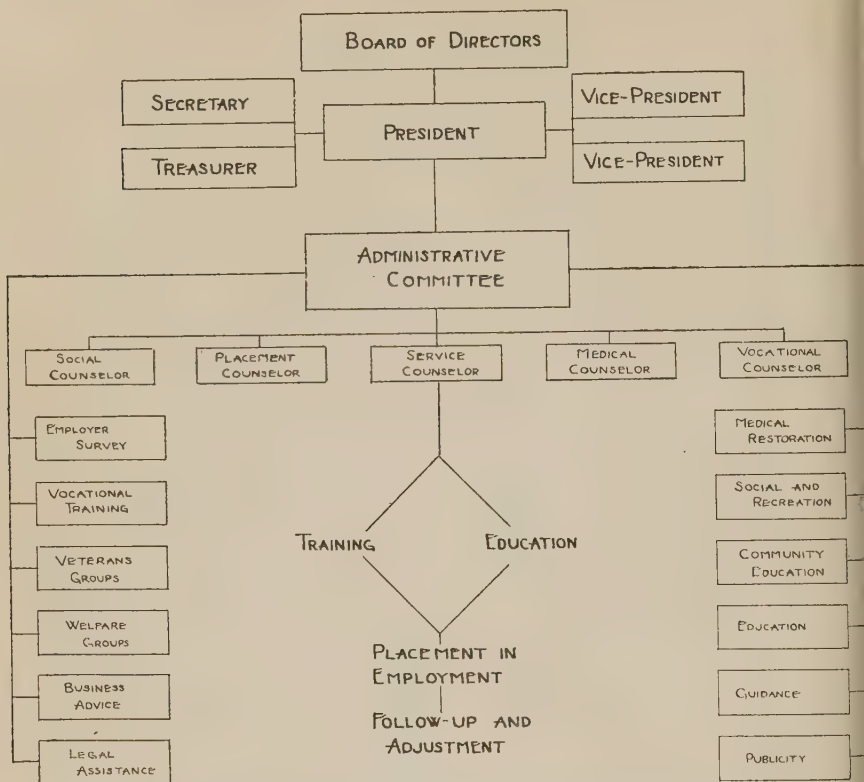
Medical Director, Caterpillar Tractor Company

EVERY G. I. has one primal question in his mind. His own experience has proved that our nation in war had the ability to take him from school or from work, to give him medical, physical, psychological, psychiatric, and vocational interviews, to train him for many months, to equip him with the best weapons, and then to turn him out as the most highly efficient fighting machine that the world has ever known. Now he wants to know whether this same nation at peace has the ability to reverse the process. This is indeed the greatest challenge that can be thrust upon any civilized nation. If this country has the wherewithal to equip her young manhood for war, can it not efficiently find the wherewithal to equip it for the momentous job of peace and rehabilitation into a highly competitive world? This is the biggest job on our home front agenda. After V-J day ten million men and women mobilized for war more than four years will have to be demobilized for peace. Since Pearl Harbor approximately 1,500,000 veterans have already returned to the home front at the rate of 1000 a month. The great demobilization has begun; the big job is on. They are coming back, and the things uppermost in their minds are security, home, and love. They have many job classifications in the

armed forces; they have had every type of military assignment. Their first desire is security in the form of jobs. The problem is that of shifting their war-acquired skills to peacetime vocations. Their horizons have expanded too, for their schooling has been schooling-in-motion. They have lived and fought on every continent of the globe. Their trial-and-error years were taken from them by the march of human events, the need to defend their country. Now they are returning equipped with war skills, with a changed perspective, and with a desire for jobs that will utilize these skills and into which these new perspectives may be fitted. This is the challenge that confronts us as citizens. The way to use the returning soldier's new skills will affect not only his own fate, but the destiny of 130,000,000 Americans. We must take effective action to absorb the returning veteran into community living as rapidly and expeditiously as possible. We cannot indulge in the wasteful excesses of mawkish sentiment and muddled direction.

Organization

As an answer to this gigantic challenge the community of Peoria, Illinois, housing more than 200 diversified industries, responded to this problem. Under the original impetus



THE PEORIA PLAN VETERANS' SERVICE CENTER

of local industry acting through the Peoria Manufacturers Association, the Peoria Junior Chamber of Commerce, and other civic organizations, "The Peoria Plan Veterans' Service Center" was voluntarily brought forth. The attitude that is reflected in dealings with veterans and the general public is that of being prepared to render a matter-of-fact service and a dissemination of factual information to men and women

who have served in the armed forces. It is inevitable that special problem cases arise, but these are exceptions rather than the rule, and are expedited along with the ordinary cases.

As can be noted from the organizational chart "The Peoria Plan" works through the President, a Board of Directors, and an Administrative Committee along with the major assisting committees, and the

staff members of the Center. In this setup a very close association is formed between the Center and all the social, business, educational, and industrial organizations of the city. Through publicity in the newspapers, cards in buses and trolleys, pastoral announcements in the various churches, five-minute talks by staff members before different luncheon clubs of the city, and a well promoted open house, the veterans are urged to consider the Center as a one-stop service to which they may come first so that their time and energy will be saved. If any referrals have to be made to other organizations, the Veterans' Service Center is in a better position to direct the veteran to only the necessary ones.

Here under one roof the veteran is welcomed, in a cheerful, club-like environment, by experienced counselors who receive him in a helpful, friendly, and unemotional manner. He is made to feel that here are human beings like himself who will enjoy helping him to utilize all the services available for a satisfactory solution of his problems. His initial contact is with a receptionist who fills out a card showing his name, address, telephone number, and branch and serial number in the armed forces. The veteran is then referred to the appropriate staff member for an interview.

Services Rendered to Veterans

Suppose a young man or woman wants to know the latest and most accurate information regarding what he is entitled to under the G. I. Bill of Rights. It may be that he wants

to enter apprenticeship training in order to learn a gainful trade. He can scarcely do it on \$18 a week while he is learning, but with the government's assistance up to \$50 a month if single, and \$75 a month if married, to supplement this remuneration while learning, he is able to prepare himself to be a more self-supporting member of society. A man with a service-incurred physical disability may qualify for assistance under Public Law 16, in which the remuneration is up to \$92 for a single man and \$103 for a married man. It may be that his college course has been interrupted and he wants to go on with his academic training. Here, too, the government gives him this opportunity. It may be that he needs a home, business, or farm loan, readjustment allowance, or review of discharge. All these things come under the G. I. Bill of Rights, and the Service Counselor is generally able to help him if his needs fall into this category.

This counselor also has a routine check list prepared containing questions to be asked of all veterans such as: has he applied for or received mustering-out pay? have his discharge papers been properly recorded? and other matters of that nature in addition to going into the subject of principal concern to the veteran at the time of the interview. The counselor also gives practical advice upon business problems, insurance, and personal loans. He arranges with the American Legion to provide food and lodging for the veteran who does not have sufficient funds to carry him over to his first

pay check. If the veteran needs a small sum of cash for carfare or noon lunches, a referral is made to the American War Dads or the Navy Mothers Club, who issue him a cash stipend.

In all interviewing an attempt is made to obtain as complete a background of information concerning the individual as possible in order to have a basis for judgment that will enable the interviewer to give the most practical guidance without creating an appearance of prying. The veteran is made to feel that here he does not have to go through a third degree of questioning before being given aid or advice. Every veteran is treated as an individual and his particular characteristics and inclinations are respected, as some men are garrulous and others are reticent. The Service Counselor also determines whether the man needs more specialized advice; if so, he is turned over to the proper counselor.

Testing of Capabilities

Many times the man or woman needs an accurate knowledge of his dormant and active capabilities. He is then referred to the Vocational Counselor who, with the veteran's consent, puts him through a battery of objective tests selected to fit his individual case. First, he is given a standard personality test for a measured scale of values in determining his temperament and personality that will aid him in making an adequate choice of jobs and a satisfactory adjustment to his new environment. If emotional instability is detected, more specialized tests are given to examine the ego compo-

nents and to see what conflict is present. In many cases of personality conflict the Vocational Counselor arranges to relieve these tensions through a series of helpful counseling periods. Next, he is given an all-inclusive aptitude test which attempts to determine the probable level of his native intelligence and his various aptitudes such as: mechanical, clerical, professional, and executive.

When the results of this initial "screening" are evaluated, the man is given more specialized tests in his most promising aptitudes. If he has a high percentile in the mechanical aptitudes the next step is to determine just which mechanical aptitude it would be best for him to pursue. From the profile sheet of his preference record and from the personal interview with him it is easy to determine his inherent interests. He may be interested in engineering, and further tests must be administered to see which field of engineering it would be best for him to enter. It may be that he likes drafting or architecture, and more specialized tests are given to determine his aptitudes in these fields of endeavor. The same procedure is used when any special aptitude shows up in the initial screening test. It has been found that this objective testing is an invaluable aid to the man in selecting a vocation, a profession, a trade, or a school. In this way doubt and indecision are relieved and the veteran saves his time and Uncle Sam's dollars when he makes a more accurate choice of the opportunities which are presented to him. At this time the Vocational Coun-

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el or either arranges for further counseling periods in his department or the veteran is referred to the Service Counselor with suggestions as to the type of apprenticeship program or school that he should enter, or he is turned over to the Placement Counselor if he must have immediate employment and intends to take advantage of governmental aid at a later date.

Survey of Vocational Opportunities

The duties of the Placement Counselor involve a personal survey of all the available jobs in the community. He does this by establishing contact with the personnel departments of business and industry, and he uses his findings and advice of the Vocational Counselor as a guide in placing the man in a job to which he can make a satisfactory adjustment. Although most of his placements are of people who are physically sound, the placing of handicapped veterans is becoming a major function; in this field the Placement Counselor makes every effort to contact prospective employers to aid them in the placing of these individuals. At times it is necessary for industry to make a recheck upon its procedures and operations so that the physically handicapped may be fitted into the picture. The major industries of Peoria have been most helpful in this regard. The largest company has approximately 1,000 handicapped persons in gainful and useful work. This number is remarkable when one considers that this company builds heavy machinery, calling for heavy and light

machine work, similar types of assembling, and gray-iron and aluminum-foundry work. Those called handicapped are only those with major defects: loss of one or both extremities; marked deformities, congenital or otherwise; loss of one or both eyes; loss of hearing or speech; and those recovered from tuberculosis, heart disease, etc. The same can be said of the other major industries which have handicapped people at work. The vast majority of these people have a production, safety, and absentee record far above normal. They are paid at the same rate as normal individuals, are shown no special favors, and are in no way considered as accepting charity. They will be given the same consideration as any other employees in being retained on the job after the war.

Many times the Placement Counselor personally takes the man out to the job, introduces him, and sees that he has a satisfactory start. He also helps the veteran to fill out any forms pertaining to state or Federal matters.

If the veteran needs medical advice, he is referred to the Medical Counselor, who takes care of physical and emotional complaints. Treatment is not given in the Center, but the man is referred to a member of the Medical Restoration Committee when necessary.

Cooperating with the Medical Counselor and the Vocational Counselor is the Social Counselor, who makes visits to the homes and families of the veterans when such a service is needed to give the other staff counselors a more adequate

picture of the individual case. He also attempts to bring about a better understanding by the veteran's family of his problems. He is the family's representative in considering the veteran's total adjustment.

Another very important duty of the Center is to engage in a proper follow-up procedure after the man has been placed. Each veteran leaving the Center is assured that if he fails to receive satisfaction from the first referral made, he is perfectly free to return to the Center where other arrangements will be made for him. There are times when he needs to feel that someone is behind him who is interested in his welfare. He is not required but is encouraged to telephone the Social Counselor whenever any problems arise after he has left the Center. The Social Counselor also checks up periodically upon the man's progress on the job. It is needless to say that all of this procedure is handled in a most diplomatic and friendly manner. Never is the veteran's initiative destroyed by coddling or snooping, but he gradually understands that the Center is not interested in just dumping him upon the world but in further helping him by tactful follow-up work upon the part of the Social Counselor.

Functions of Assisting Committees

Branching to each side on the chart are the major assisting committees who are a very helpful part of the Center. Their assistance is frequently given in the disposition of some of the individual cases as well as general problems arising in the

Center. The Employer Survey Committee undertakes by means of a survey card to canvass possibilities for all jobs in the community that both handicapped and normal men and women can do. Thus the Job Placement Counselor has an adequate log upon which to begin his work. Surveys are made and suggestions are given as to where more jobs can be provided to fill the existing needs of the employer.

The Vocational Training Committee, whose service is counseling, guiding, and placing, uses the facilities of Peoria's educational institutions in working with the returning servicemen. The Dean of Bradley Polytechnic Institute heads this committee and assists veterans in further information along educational lines. He and the other members of the committee also counsel with the staff members of the Center upon general problems of procedure under this heading.

The Committee on Education assists the veteran in choosing a college or mapping out courses which will give him a maximum of return. In many cases the lifetime happiness and well-being of the individuals are at stake, and these first two committees render a very valuable service to the Center as well as to the veteran. The most capable educational and vocational minds in the community are recruited for the Guidance Committee, which has the duty of assisting the counselor in all matters of this nature. Many times this is a clearinghouse for the final disposition of the more difficult cases. Executives from the school system, Veterans Administration, sheltered

work shop, state rehabilitation service, and the clergy make up the membership of this committee.

The Veterans' Group Committee is in charge of the intake sources of letting men into the Center. They also aid the veteran in filling out applications for benefits and either further explain what his government has to offer or urge him to come into the Center for professional counseling. Many times they make the first contact with men and in this way are an invaluable aid to the Center. Serving on this committee are representatives of USO, Selective Service Boards, Red Cross, Veterans Administration, the clergy, recreational groups, welfare organizations, and others who frequently contact discharged veterans. With this committee rests the responsibility of seeing that the servicemen be given every opportunity to take advantage of the Veterans' Service Center.

The Welfare Groups Committee is primarily concerned with assisting families of veterans and handling personal problems of the servicemen. This committee works more closely with the Social Counselor of the Center. These committee members are chosen primarily from the standpoint of their human understanding and their willingness to serve. They are imaginative individuals with inspiring personalities, capable of encouraging others to see the brighter side of life.

The Business Advice Committee advises the serviceman who wishes to go into business for himself and relies upon the advice given by the Service Counselor by giving

more specific advice concerning the particular business in which the veteran is interested. This group is also composed of public-spirited business executives with a human interest in others and their problems. Many times they have more specific information at their fingertips than is possessed by the Center.

Often a veteran requires legal advice which can be more adequately handled by a competent practicing attorney; hence he is sent to a member of the Legal Assistance Committee, who discusses in more minute detail with him his problems which require legal advice.

Our new laws have greatly increased the medical and hospital services. For many years a medical program for veterans has been available through the Veterans Administration, but the home-coming veteran does need additional advice upon his physical and emotional welfare. It is the purpose of the Medical Restoration Committee to provide this service which cannot always be provided by the Medical Counselor on the staff of the Veterans' Service Center, especially if the veteran needs the advice of a specialist in some phase of the medical field. This committee also is in a position to recommend proper procedures in all cases which may come to its attention, since it is familiar with all of the community resources.

It is a human trait to desire the respect and approbation of others. The average individual also wants affection, the feeling of being wanted, and of being a part of the group. The Social and Recreational Committee cooperates with the So-

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cial Counselor of the Center in developing for returning service people those activities and projects which will assist in making the maximum social and spiritual adjustments with the minimum of difficulty. It develops a new type of activity, program, or project to help these men feel that they are an important part of their community.

Sometimes there will be spiritual hunger apparent and these problems are certainly better handled by the Spiritual Assistance Committee composed of representatives of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant groups.

The Community Education Committee, by means of qualified speakers, makes various addresses before community groups to discuss the handling of veterans and what might be expected of them. Feature articles in newspapers, series of radio broadcasts, and printed material are employed to reach the desired objective.

There is a definite need to quicken the community conscience regarding

its obligations to the returning veteran through a program of education. Members of the Publicity Committee study and determine means of making the public aware of the services available at the Veterans' Service Center. As has been mentioned earlier in this article, every available means of publicity is used.

The Veterans' Service Center of Peoria is definitely an answer to what a community can do in a humane and effective manner for its returning veterans. Already many similar plans are being set up in various parts of the country that are patterned after "The Peoria Plan." It is the feeling of all those responsible for the formation of "The Peoria Plan Veterans' Service Center" that the problem of proper placement and gainful re-employment of our returning servicemen will be solved nationally only when it has been solved in each community. Giving a job plus freedom of opportunity to the returning servicemen is more than a humane gesture—it is sound business.

War Business of Small Firms.—Business with fewer than 100 employees received nearly 30 per cent of all the contracts amounting to 10 thousand dollars or more placed by the Army Quartermaster Corps in 1941. These contracts, 27,485 in number, brought the smaller businessmen a total of almost 681 million dollars. Many operations formerly thought to be beyond the ability of small business have been accomplished during the emergency by smaller plants.—From *Domestic Commerce* for June, 1945.